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History and Politics - 13
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POLITICAL GRAMMAR,

Adapted to the Meridian

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08139. b.52
GREAT BRITAIN,

In which the Welfare and Safety of every
Subject is deeply concern'd.

*Generosum est, & omni favore dignum Inge-
nium cui sunt cordi Disciplinæ Politicæ.*

XENOPHON.



L O N D O N:

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POLYGRAPH
GRAMMAR



GREY'S BRITAIN

THE HISTORY OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE

THE HISTORY OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE



HOWARD



T H E
C O N T E N T S.

I <i>ntroduction.</i>	Page 1
<i>The Office and Duties of Kings, or Go-</i> <i>vernors.</i>	7
<i>Of Judges & Magistrates.</i>	14
<i>Of Embassadors.</i>	15
<i>Of Deliberation.</i>	16
<i>Of Alliances.</i>	18
<i>Of War.</i>	19
<i>Of Peace.</i>	21
<i>Of Mediations.</i>	22
<i>Of Neutrality.</i>	Ibid.
<i>Of Rewards and publick Gratitude.</i>	24
<i>Of Punishments.</i>	26
<i>Of Reasons of State, or Arcana Imperii</i>	27
<i>Of Reputation.</i>	30
<i>Of Confederacies, or Ballance of Power.</i>	Ibid.
<i>Of Nobility.</i>	31
<i>Of the People.</i>	36
<i>Of the Representatives of the People.</i>	39
<i>Of Liberty.</i>	Ibid.
<i>Of the Legislature.</i>	41
	<i>Of</i>

The CONTENTS.

<i>Of Sedition.</i>	44
<i>Of Plots.</i>	46
<i>Of Rebellion.</i>	49
<i>Of Parties.</i>	51
<i>Of Corruption.</i>	53
<i>Of Taxes.</i>	55
<i>Of Standing Armies.</i>	58





T H E

INTRODUCTION.



SOME, may, perhaps, look upon a Political Grammar, as a Work of Superogation, in a Country, where all are Politicians, and where, even Women and Children Discourse of State Affairs, with as much Freedom, as they do of Domestick.

Whether this Political Vein, which is spread over all the Land, be commendable or not, must be submitted to the Determination of the Judicious; some Writers have, indeed, represented it in a ludicrous View, and amongst others, the celebrated Mr. *Addison*.

But we must take the Liberty to say, that that great Man would have been less Satyrical upon his Country, had he traced the Source of that inquisitive Spirit for News and Politicks, which was the Subject of some of his humourous Papers.

The dangerous and doubtful Wars, in which we have been often plunged since the

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Revolution; and the Numerous and heavy Taxes levied upon the Nation to support them, are the Fountains of that thirst and eagerness in pursuit of Politicks, which distinguishes *England* from other Countries.

'Tis well known that we, have, often, in the Course of those Wars, been threaten'd with Invasions and Descents, and as our Purfes were always a Draining, it was very natural to think, we must be inquisitive after the State of publick Affairs as well Foreign as Domestick; nor is it possible to cure the Nation of that Humour, whilst they are groaning under the Burthen of Taxes and constantly alarmed with the Apprehension of Foreign Wars.

It is a Doubt with some, whether the Political Art, or the Art of Government is to be acquired, by Experience, or from Books: Some, indeed, are of Opinion, that both are necessary for forming a Statesman, since without the Knowledge of History, we must be Strangers to those Events that occur in the Management of Political Affairs, which are the only Lights that are capable of guiding the Pilot who is trusted with the great Machine of State: So that we may say, he who has no other Foundation, than his own Experience in conducting it, ought to be look'd upon in no other Light, than a State Empirick.

A Learned Physician of our Country, lays it down, as an Axiom, that no Man can be an accomplished Politician, without a profound Skill in the Oeconomy or Anatomy of Man's Body, according to the Saying of *Pythagoras*, that *Man is the Measure of all Things*.

As the Political Art excels all others, so, we may justly say, 'tis of all others the most perplexed and difficult, for which, a *Spanish* Author Assignes a very just Reason, that is, *that of all Creatures, Man is the most difficult to be govern'd*.

There are, however, in this Art, certain Precepts and Maxims, the Knowledge of which is so indispensably necessary for all those, who would reason with Justness and Perspicuity, upon political Topicks, that without it, we may say, they are like People in a Wilderness, or Labyrinth, where Chance is their only Resource.

Besides those general Maxims of Government, or civil Prudence, observed in all civilized Nations, there are others adapted to the Genius, Temper, and Circumstances of each, which are often varied according to the Exigencies of Affairs, for 'tis impossible that Human Systems can be immutable, since there is nothing in the whole Creation exempted from Change.

Tho' this is a Truth that will not be contested, we must however observe, that

some Nations are much more unsteady and more inclinable to change than Others, and 'tis very certain, that those who inhabit the Southern Parts of the World, are more constant and tenacious of their Laws and Customs than the Northern People; this is ascribed by some to Physical Causes, particularly, the Variation of the Weather, which is much more observable in the Regions towards the Pole, than in the Southern.

'Tis, indeed, impossible, to fix upon a Standard of Politicks in any Country, divided into Parties, since 'tis notorious that each have established Systems that were made Subservient to their particular Views and Interests: Of this we have too frequent Examples in our own Country, where the same Persons have endeavour'd to establish some Political Maxims in one Reign, which, to their Shame, they disclaimed in Another.

Our Political Writers are generally so far agitated with party Spirit, that there is, scarcely, one Work extant of that Cast, that is not calculated to please one Faction or Other.

It may, perhaps, be thought the Height of Vanity in the Author of this Essay, to set up for a greater Portion of Candor or Impartiality than Others, but he solemnly declares, that he has not consulted the Advantages,

vantsges, or Views of any particular Set of Men, in this Work, which is solely intended for the Good of his Country.

And as nothing has hitherto appeared upon the same Plan, so he takes the freedom to say, that the perusal of it will enable every *Englishman*, to form a juster Idea of the Affairs of the Kingdom (and consequently, his own) than any thing yet extant, and will be very conducive towards preserving the Lives and Estates of the People, from the arbitrary Designs of wicked Princes, and the Artifices of profligate or malicious Ministers, as well in this, as in future Generations.



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P O L I T I C A L
G R A M M A R, &c.

POLITY, or Civil Prudence, is the Art of Governing a State, or Commonwealth for the Publick Good.

*Of the Office and Duty of KINGS,
or GOVERNOURS:*

AS Kings excel others in Power, Dignity, and Wealth, so ought they to excel them in Prudence, Virtue and Merit; and since they were instituted for the Good of the People, it is their Duty to pursue that End, which consists in distributing Justice, relieving the Oppress'd, and leading exemplary Lives.

Kings are to be consider'd in a twofold Capacity, private and publick, but the latter being the Subject of this Work, we propose to treat distinctly of all the public or political Virtues and Qualifications necessary for a King, and first, of Piety.

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Religion ought to be the principal Care of all Kings and Rulers, since no Government ever did, or can subsist without it, and it is unquestionably true, that Nations have flourished, or declined as Religion was more or less cultivated amongst them, for which Reason the Clergy should be highly honour'd.

But Persecution is to be avoided, since Gentleness and Example are the most effectual Expedients to make Profelytes, and to propagate Religion.

Justice is said to be the Epitome of all Virtues, 'tis divided into Commutative and Distributive, the former comprehends all Contracts and Dealings amongst Men; it's End is Equality and Proportion, between that which is transferr'd to another, and that which is received in Exchange, without regard to the Condition or Merit of Persons.

Distributive Justice, on the contrary, has for it's Object, the Virtue, Defects and Circumstances of the Persons to whom it is dispensed.

Liberality, according to St. *Ambrose*, is in league with Justice, intimating that it should be governed by Moderation and Reason.

As no Virtue approaches nearer Divine Perfection, so we may say, none is a stronger Bulwark to a Princes Person and Government, since there are but very few Examples

ples of generous Princes having either been Affassinated or Dethroned.

In the Exercise of Liberality, three Things are to be consider'd, the Condition of the Giver, the Wants and Merit of the Receiver, and the Time; for should a Prince exceed his Income, he may justly be charged with Imprudence, or Prodigality; or should he bestow Favours upon Persons of no Merit or Virtue, his Judgment and Penetration must be taxed, as it would be for giving at an unseasonable Time, or when it is too late.

Clemency is the next princely Virtue that falls under Consideration, and is no less a Princes Safeguard, than Liberality; *To conquer*, says that incomparable Emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, *is Human*, but *to pardon is Divine*.

As all wise Princes have ever had the Quiet and Happiness of their People at Heart: so have we many Examples of Pardons, granted by some gracious Monarchs, to prevent Enquiries into the Conduct of Delinquents, who had been carrying on secret and dangerous Schemes.

2. *Elizabeth* passed seven Acts of Pardon or Indemnity, tho' there was no Insurrection in her Reign, in this Kingdom; but as there were Factions, and consequently, unwarrantable Designs, she wisely consider'd, that a Consciousness of Guilt would render the

Offenders infecure, and of Course, readier to engage in more desperate Enterprizes, which could not be obviated by any Expedients more effectually, than benevolent Pardons, that conquer'd even her secret Enemies and secured her own Person and Government.

But such * Pardons have been strangely perverted in some succeeding Reigns, having been calculated for no other End than to screen Favourites or Ministers from the Laws.

Modesty is a Virtue truly worthy of a Prince ; it may be defined to be an humble Opinion which every one ought to conceive of himself, and the *Roman* Orator tells us, that the more exalted a Man's Condition is, the more submissive should be his Deportment.

Temperance, Fortitude, and Truth, are Princely Virtues ; the first teaches him to make a moderate Use of Pleasures ; the Second, to defend his Subjects against Oppression and Violence, with Courage and Resolution ; and the last, to have an inviolable Regard to his Words and Promises.

As the Love of the People is the Prince's most effectual Security, so should it be his

* General Pardons or Acts of Indemnity are Grants from the Crown, and tho' they have the Sanction of Parliament, yet they differ from other Acts in that they are read but once in either House, and cannot be alter'd or amended.

principal Care to obtain it, by all justifiable Expedients, of which *Seneca* has exhibited an exact Portrait.

‘ Let a Prince, says he, imitate tender Fathers, who reprove their Children sometimes with Gentleness, sometimes with an angry and menacing Tone ; and at other times, with Stripes. Is there any Father, who has the right Use of his Understanding that will disinherit his eldest Son, for the first Offence ? He ought first to put all Methods into practice, in order to reclaim him ; no one proceeds to exemplary Punishments, till all gentle Remedies have proved ineffectual.

As a Prince’s Example is, of all Arguments, the most powerful with the People, so ought he to be very circumspect in all his Words and Actions ; lest any thing should escape him, that is not worthy of Imitation.

‘ The Law, says a *French* Author, commands, prohibits, permits, punishes, but when Example proceeds from the same Source, that is, from the Prince or Ruler, it commands Virtue by practising it ; prohibits Vice by shunning it : Without Words, it propagates what is lawful, by Exercise ; it makes all Men see the Justice of Punishment, by avoiding what the Law pronounces Criminal, and the Equity of Gratitude, by dispensing Rewards.

' The Law has Judges, Officers, Execu-
 ' tioners, Gallows and Gibbets, to enforce
 ' it's Decrees, but Example has no other
 ' Instruments, than Mildness, Allurements,
 ' Sweetness, Love and Reason; yet it redu-
 ' ces Men sooner under it's Empire, thus
 ' naked and disarm'd, than the most des-
 ' potick Laws, with formidable Armies, to
 ' support them.

' Example is more efficacious in instruct-
 ' ing than Philosophy, more powerful in
 ' persuading than Eloquence; it has more
 ' Authority than the Laws, and more Force
 ' than Armies; it convinces without Argu-
 ' ments, it persuades without Speaking, and
 ' commands without Meaning; and it has
 ' been often observed, that it made Prose-
 ' lytes of the most profligate Wretches, when
 ' all other Efforts proved ineffectual, even
 ' Reason itself; Example imitates the Law
 ' not by the Prince's Command, *but by his*
 ' *Life.*

' The Lives of Princes and Rulers may
 ' be said to give Motion to all others, all
 ' Classes of Men incline to that Side, where
 ' they turn the Ballance, whether to Virtue
 ' or to Vice, and that by their Example
 ' only. Men despise the dead Law, and
 ' cast their Eyes upon the Living, which
 ' made the * Chancellor of one of the
 ' Gothic Kings say, *that it is easier for Na-*

* Cassiod.

*ture to err, than for a Prince to form a
Commonwealth unlike himself.*

As Ministers are next in Authority to Princes, the Transition to them will be very Natural, but 'tis amazing that there are few or no Instances of any, that were ever so fortunate as to please the People, while they were living; 'tis true some have been respected in their Graves, not thro' any real Esteem for the Dead, but to pique those that succeeded them; and 'tis observable that the present are always the worst, at least, by common Vogue.

It may, perhaps, be a matter of Difficulty, to trace the natural Source of the universal Hatred to Ministers, which is observed in all Nations; especially such, as are under Monarchical Government; for tho' some of them have been Persons of Merit, and made no unjustifiable Acquisitions, yet could they not escape Obloquy.

'Tis indeed, but too true, that they often are indebted for their Rise, to Caprice, or Humour, sometimes to a favourite Mistress, and often to the blackest Crimes.

But as a Minister may be look'd upon as the Corner-stone of the State, so we may well say, he stands in need of all Political Virtues, and most consummate Talents and Abilities.

He ought to be eloquent, courteous and affable to all; generous and hospitable; well skill'd in the Languages, in the Laws and
Histo-

Histories of Foreign Nations as well as his own, but above all, he should be reserved in Business, and very cautious in contracting Familiarity, with any one, especially the Fair Sex, for 'tis by them that most of the Secrets of the World have been betrayed, Armies surprized and defeated, and whole Kingdoms subverted.

Those, who have the Honour of being Counsellors to a Prince, should be such as *Jethro* recommended to *Moses*, *able Men, such as fear God, Men of Truth, hating Covetousness.*

'Tis a very great Error to promote young People to high Stations on the Score of their Families, Riches or Interest in the World, and there are several Countries where none under the Age of Thirty are capable of Promotion to any of the important Offices of the State.

Of JUDGES and MAGISTRATES:

THE Qualifications necessary for all superior as well as subordinate Magistrates, are, Resolution, Probity, Diligence and Disinterestedness. In all doubtful Cases, they ought to incline to that Part that appears to be the most equitable.

A Magistrate should be of no Party, nor ever betray any Passion in the Administration of Justice; there is no Duty more incumbent

bent upon him, than to give good Example, which has a surprizing Influence upon the Populace.

Of E M B A S S A D O R S.

THere are no Officers in a State that require more exalted Talents and Endowments, as well of Mind as of Body, than Embassadors and Ministers sent to Foreign Courts, where they form an Idea of the Prince or Ministry that sends them, conformable to their Conduct and Deportment.

Besides a thorough Knowledge in History, Political Writings, and the Constitution of his own Country, it will be highly necessary for an Embassador to know the Constitution of the Country he is sent to, he ought to be well versed in all the modern Languages, as his Commission must engage him, to converse with People of several Countries, which would be dangerous to do by Means of Interpreters.

Liberality in an Embassador has a surprizing Ascendant in all Countries; it has often paved the Way to the most guarded Cabinets; it is therefore adviseable to employ none in that Character, that are not Men of Fortune, for one in narrow Circumstances, *will be more likely to take than to give.*

A Publick Minister should be very watchful over his Passions, Women, and Servants ; he must avoid Excesses in Drinking, and ought always to remember, that he is in the midst of Spies ; and that none are more dangerous, than those of his own Family.

The Graces of Body have inexpressible Charms, which is the Reason, that wise Princes have seldom employed Men of contemptible Aspects in Embassies, whatever their Talents might be: On the whole, Foreign Ministers should be thoroughly finished, and always remember the *Italian Proverb, that an open Front and a close Mouth do Wonders.*

Of DELIBERATION.

TWO Things are to be premised in all Consultations.

First, that the End as well as the Means be just and salutary.

Secondly, that the Persons, who are to advise, be Men of Experience, Years, and Probity ; Regard must likewise be had to the Conjuncture and the various Circumstances of the Affairs under Deliberation.

Here a Prince must divest himself of every Thing that may have the least Tendency to Passion, or any inordinate or indecent Expressions ; for no sooner does he discover such Imbecillities, but he muzzles, (if I may

may use the Expression,) all his Counsellors, since few will be found so attached to the Cause of Truth, as to support it, or to deliver their Sentiments with Freedom, when it may draw upon them, the Prince's Resentment.

There have been, indeed, some Monarchs that could hear with Patience, Opinions that were no way conformable to their own, but being deliver'd by faithful Counsellors, they were well relished, and one of the *Roman* Emperors acknowledged, that he ow'd his Safety to Opposition in Council: and it is said of *Adrian*, that he would receive * *Admonition from Persons of the meanest Rank*. Events and Examples are the principal Ingredients in Deliberations, and when all reasonable Mediums are applied, the Advisers should not be accountable for the Success, which is not in the Hands of Men, and even the Pagans condemn'd the Doctrine of judging of Things by the Event, according to that of the Poet.

*Careat successibus opto,
Quisquis ab eventu, facta notando putat.*

May he never succeed,
That by the Event, judges of the Deed.

* *Libenter patiebatur admoneri, & corrigi, vel ab humili Persona.*

Of ALLIANCES.

A Prince or State ought to avoid all Treaties, except such as tend towards promoting Commerce or Manufactures, or reducing an exorbitant Power that is become terrible to all it's Neighbours.

All other Alliances may be look'd upon as so many Incumbrances upon a free State, were they to be faithfully executed, but as the Mode is, they are no more than Amusements, and seem to be calculated only, for some present View, or to give a tottering State some Reputation in the World, especially at Home.

A long train of Alliances, offensive and defensive, insinuates Power and Authority, and will have, no small Weight, in keeping Mallecontents in Awe.

Tho' *Great Britain* has Treaties with all the Powers of *Europe*, I have not yet been able to learn, that they have produced any Advantage to us, tho' we are engaged in an expensive War: And it is an infallible Maxim in Politicks *that a Country is in a dangerous Situation when it cries out for Succours from a Foreign Nation.*

Alliances with *France* should be carefully avoided, having always proved fatal to such Princes and States as enter'd into them.

The

The same Caution is to be observed with regard to distant Powers, since they will not be in a Condition to afford us Assistance in case of any Exigencies.

There is another Lesson, no less necessary to be observ'd, that is, to reduce all our Treaties with any Foreign Potentate, or State, into one, as the best Expedient to prevent Confusion and Perplexity, which must happen, when there are many Treaties and made at distant Periods of Time.

Of W A R.

WAR, says St. *Augustin*, is the greatest Evil, whether Foreign or Domestick, and it has been a Doubt with many learned Men, whether it be justifiable amongst Christians.

The Sages of Antiquity seem to have a frightful Idea of it: when *Phocion* the renowned *Athenian* was consulted upon the proper Season, for making War, *it will be adviseable*, says he, *when young Men are free from Excesses, when Misers part with their Money freely, and when Lawyers refuse Fees*; by which he would insinuate, that no Season was proper.

Of all Acts of Sovereignty or Government, it requires the most profound Deliberations, since the very Being of a State often depends upon the Event.

War is seldom advantageous for Trading Nations, or to Islanders, for whatever the Success may be, they will be Loosers upon the Foot of the Account, and we may venture to say, that our own Country has seldom been a Gainer in any Quarrel, when a just Allowance is made for Losses and Interruption in Commerce, the Millions expended, and the Slaughter of Multitudes of People, who might otherwise be employed in Trade or Manufactures.

It is a received Maxim in some Countries, to acquiesce with Wrongs, and to make Efforts to bring an insulting Nation to Temper, by Forbearance and Negotiating; but there are few Instances in History, where such Management ever produced the desired Effect: And the *Roman* Historian seems to have the same Sentiments, when he says, *that there is not a more effectual Way to draw on a War, than to be over industrious avoiding it.* For most Princes may be compared to *Bravo's* who become more boisterous, when they observe their Adversaries Capitulating.

But whenever trading Nations, or such as are settled in Islands, think it adviseable to quarrel with their Neighbours, let them always have that wise Saying of the *Venetians* in View, *servare non acquirere* to preserve what they have, without Meditating upon new Acquisitions.

Of P E A C E.

OF all the Felicities of this Life, it claims the first Rank, * *the very Name, says Cicero, is sweet, not only, Things endued with Sense seem to be delighted with it, but even Houses and Fields.*

It is much easier to preserve Peace, than to recover it by the Sword, but no Opportunity is so favourable, as when a Victory is obtained, since nothing is more giddy than the Fortune of War.

It is a difficult Task to describe the true Ingredients of a just, honourable, and lasting Peace.

These are Terms in every one's Mouth, such Blessings may, indeed, be wished for, but can scarcely be expected. Nor is it possible to give any other Rule in an Affair of such Delicacy than to accommodate the Terms of Peace to the present State of Things, a Peace that might be very honourable at one Period of Time, may not be so in another, and so *vice versâ*.

The *Athenians* were often victorious, but they were compell'd to receive a *Macedonian* Garrison into *Athens*, in the War

* Dulce est nomen pacis, res vero ipsa tum jucunda, tum salutaris, quâ non modo ii quibus sensum natura dedit, sed etiam testâ atque Agrilætari videntur. con. Rullum.

which

which they enter'd into against that Nation, contrary to *Phocion's* Opinion.

All that can be deliver'd with Certainty upon this Topick, is that no People ever refused equitable Terms but were made sensible of their Error.

In treating of Peace, there ought to be the greatest Circumspection in the choice of the Negotiators, with regard to their Persons, Character and Deportment, which ought to be frank, affable and engaging; an angry or froward Expression has often produced very ill Effects. The Conduct of one of the *Dutch* Ministers, at the Treaty of *Utrecht*, interrupted the Negotiation for some Time.

Of MEDITATIONS.

THE Office of a Mediator is a very difficult one, since none can be admitted to act in that Character that has discover'd the least Partiality, in Favour of any of the contending Parties; or is to receive any Benefit by the Event.

Of NEUTRALITY.

IT requires as much Deliberation to discern when a Prince is to observe a Neutrality, as when to engage in a War.

Po-

Political Writers are divided upon the Subject; *Livy* declares against a Neutrality, upon a Presumption that both Parties will be irritated, and that the Conqueror will attack the neutral State.

Others have contrary Sentiments, and no Doubt, there are many Arguments to be offerr'd in Support of each Side of the Question.

To assist the powerful State against a Weaker, would be a Solecism in Politicks, nor would it be a less Error, to support the Weaker against the more Formidable in an unjust Quarrel.

The Neutrality of *Eumenes*, and the People of *Rhodes*, in the War between *Perseus*, King of *Macedon* and the *Romans*, was so ill relished by the latter, that they made it a Pretence for War.

We have, on the other hand, Examples of Princes that lost their Dominions for taking part in Quarrels, between neighbouring Powers, as *Henry* King of *Navarre*, for assisting *Lewis XII.* against the *Spaniards*, *Charles* Duke of *Savoy* for taking the Part of *Charles V.* against *Francis I.* and *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine* for joining the House of *Austria* against *Lewis XIII.*

No expedient seems to be more effectual for determining the Controversy upon this Subject of Neutrality, than what we have in *Lipsius*, who advises a State, to adhere to the
Party

Party that has Justice on it's Side, but if the Case be doubtful, then to the Strongest.

Of REWARDS and publick
GRATITUDE.

THO' Rewards are one of the principal Hinges of all Governments, yet nothing is more neglected in the World, especially in *England*, which has produced Men of the greatest Talents for Improvements, tho' most of them finished their Days, either in Hospitals, or in Prisons.

This imprudent Conduct of Men in Power has deprived the Kingdom of very useful Designs, which have either fallen to the Lot of Chandlers, or Cheesmongers, or made their Exit with the Authors.

So great is the Discouragement to People of Invention, that a Man must be infatuated to lavish away his Time and his Money too, in attending the Levees of great Men, without some real Encouragement : And which is still more shameful, there are Instances of making some small Variations in Schemes, with no other View than to deprive the Author of the Fruits or Credit of his Invention !

As *Lewis XIV.* surpassed all the Princes of his Time in Power, so we may say, he had a juster Idea of Merit and Rewards ; and his Ministers made it their chief Glory to
who

imitate their Master, particularly, *Colbert*, who has candidly acknowledged, in some of his political Works, that most of his great Designs were founded upon the Hints he had taken from the Schemes of particular Persons, none of whom he ever dismiss'd unrewarded.

The present King of *Denmark* has given us an Example worthy of a wise Prince, in giving publick Encouragement to all Persons who shall exhibit any useful Projects, nor could he give a more convincing Testimony of his Affection to his People, than by cherishing Merit and Ingenuity.

It were much to be wished that a Fund might be established, in *England* for so laudable an End, and I believe, I may venture to say, there are Funds for other Purposes that are not so profitable to the State.

I am well apprized, it will be objected, that, in case of publick Encouragement, a Minister's Levee would be always crowded with Projectors, as they are call'd.

But this will have no Weight when we consider, that there are but few, who have Talents for Invention, and it cannot be rationally supposed; that Men who have the Use of their Understanding, would offer Designs that have not something useful, which was all that *Colbert* expected: Nor is it less true, that the Authors of Schemes would be content with small Premiums, or some

little Employments, in case a Minister should be over frugal of the publick Mony.

Of P U N I S H M E N T S.

A Prince is to have three Things in View, in punishing Offenders; First their Amendment; Secondly, the Improvement of others, and lastly, the Safety of the People, by removing the Delinquents from amongst them by Death, or otherwise.

Punishment should be adequate to the Offence, without Consideration of Persons, but it is with Regret, we are compell'd to say, that that Rule is frequently neglected.

We have often seen a poor Wretch suffer capital Punishment, while an Offender of Quality, equally criminal, has escaped. And 'tis a common Saying, *that none but Fools or Beggars are hanged in England.*

There cannot be too much Solemnity, where the Life of a Man is at Stake, nor can there be too much Caution, when Accomplices are received as Witnesses, and where publick Rewards are dispensed; and tho' the Act for that End may have produced very good Effects, it may, however, be affirmed, that there never was such a Law in any other Country in the World.

There ought always to be some Space of Time, between Condemnation and Punishment, especially, where the Proofs are
not

not clear. The Emperor *Theodosius the Great* allow'd thirty Days. And the Maxim in our Law is, *De Morte hominis non est cunctatio longa.*

There is one Act of Humanity recorded of *Charles II.* which, it were to be wished, his Successors would always remember.

Upon the then Recorder's Report of the Offenders condemn'd at the *Old Baily*, and tho' they were very numerous, yet each of them had an Advocate to the King for a Pardon, except one (who may be supposed to have been the poorest;) and the King observing that he had no Friend to offer any thing in his Favour, well, says he, *I'll be his Mediator myself.*

Of REASONS of STATE, or AR- CANA IMPERII.

Reasons of State are secret and artful Designs reserved in the Breasts of Princes, or such as are at the Head of publick Affairs, and are never to be put in Practice, but upon the most pressing Exigencies. Wicked Princes apply them to destroy a State, and the Virtuous to preserve it.

There is no doubt, but all Governments may dispense with private Justice or particular Interests, to preserve the Community, but that Power has been extended to the most unwarrantable Purposes, Perjury, Forgery, Lying, Breach of Faith, Treachery and even to Murder and Poysoning.

All these are Secrets of State, but I think a Government is in a languishing Condition that cannot support itself, without the Aid of such hellish Practices, which seem, indeed, to be much better fitted for the Regions below, than for Societies either of Men or Christians.

'Tis true, these Arts are much more cultivated in the Southern than in the Northern Climates, tho' even there, we heard of the Murther of a gallant Prince some Years ago, which was an effectual Remedy against the formidable Enterprizes he was meditating, against his Neighbours.

A strange Error prevails amongst the honest and good meaning Part of Mankind, and that is, that Princes act upon the same Maxims of Honour and Conscience with private Persons.

This Delusion has been very fatal since the Revolution, to Multitudes of People in these Kingdoms, who were attached to the Interest of the late King *James* and his Family.

Those unhappy People concluded, that *France* as well on the Score of a Conformity of Religion, as Promises and Engagements, would never abandon that Prince's Cause, and upon that chimerical Faith, many plunged themselves in dangerous Enterprizes, others neglected their private Affairs, to the
great

great Detriment of themselves and their Families.

But in order to obviate the like Evils for the time to come, and to undeceive weak or credulous People, we think it an Act of Justice to say, that most Princes and States of the World are not actuated by any other Motives, but such as tend to the Advantage, Improvement or Security of their Dominions, and that Honour, Conscience and Religion too, are made subservient to those Ends

If Religion had been the most powerful Motive with Princes, the Reformation would soon have been stifled in *Germany*, by *Charles V.* but *Francis* the I. opposed that victorious Prince, the *French* King thinking it more adviseable to have a new Religion on the Continent, than to run the Risque of seeing Universal Monarchy in the House of *Austria*. And the then Pope, for the same Reason, made vigorous Efforts against that Emperor.

The same Causes will always produce like Effects, so that to imagine, Honour, Conscience, or Religion only, will influence any Prince to espouse another's Quarrel, is vain and chimerical.

'Tis true, such Pretences are very specious and captivating, and may well answer political Views, which is all that is intended by them.

Of

Of REPUTATION.

A Princes Fame in the World is of the greatest Importance as well at Home as Abroad, when a Prince is esteem'd for Prudence and Valour, the neighbouring States will court his Friendship, and dread his Arms.

So great was the Authority of *Alexander Severus*, that his Presence alone appeased a Mutiny in his Army, and that of *Charles V.* put an End to the formidable Insurrection of the Citizens of *Ghent*.

But such Authority cannot be acquired without a long Exercise of heroic and princely Virtues.

Of CONFEDERACIES and BALANCE of POWER.

HAD the Antients been thoroughly apprized of the Advantages resulting from Confederacies, we had never heard of the Universal Monarchies, either of the *Greeks* or *Romans*, but that Doctrine was not understood in those Times; The latter Ages have been much better known of it's Importance; since it is undeniably true, that the Liberties of *Europe* have been preserved by the Confederacies formed against the Houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon*, in the two last Centuries.

It

It were, indeed, to be wished, that such a Confederacy as would preserve the Publick Liberty against the House of *Bourbon* had been made perpetual, some Years ago, by an Union like that of the *Amphyctions* in *Greece*, against the *Persians*.

The Author of this Essay published a Scheme for that End, and he takes the Liberty to say, that a little Attention to it, at that Time, would have secured the Liberties of *Europe* from the dangerous Situation, in which they seem to be at this Juncture, from the Power and Arts of the House of *Bourbon*; nor can there ever be any other Expedient to set Boundaries to the Designs of that Family, than by establishing a general and perpetual Confederacy.

Of N O B I L I T Y.

IT was an established Maxim in all well regulated Governments, to confer no Dignities or Titles of Honour upon any, that had not been distinguished by some signal and meritorious Actions, either in Peace or in War.

But we have often known some exalted to the highest Honours, without any other Pretensions, than their Wealth, or Attachment to a Party.

Whenever the Nobles of any Country exceed a just Proportion, the greatest Inconveniences

niencies must ensue from the exorbitant Privileges and Power that are annexed to their Titles.

Should I enter upon a Deduction of the tyrannical Conduct of the Nobles, in all Countries in the World, this Essay would swell to an immense Size, but I propose to confine myself to a few Instances only.

The Tyranny of the Nobles of *Rome* was so unsupportable, that it created frequent Insurrections of the Commons.

The same Spirit reigned in the middle Ages of the World, even in those Governments that were of *Gothick* Institution, as were most of those in *Europe*; What Ravages and Oppression by the Nobles of *France, Sweden, Denmark, Scotland* and *England*? It arrived, at length, to such a Period, that the Commons in some of those Countries chose to make a voluntary Surrender of all their Rights and Liberties into the Hands of their Monarchs, as the only Expedient that could secure them against the intolerable Bondage of the Lords.

The despotic Power of the Barons in *England* is well known and tho' it must be acknowledged, that they sometimes took Arms in Defence of the Laws, yet it is no less true, that the Conditions of the Commons was no way improved by their Successes, so that they may be said to have changed the Tyrants, but not the Tyranny.

It

It was not the Sword that set Limits to the exorbitant Power of the Peerage in *England*; it was the Wisdom of *Henry VII.* who justly reflecting upon the Extent of their Power and Wealth, thought it necessary to contrive some Method for reducing them to more reasonable Boundaries, this was effected by passing a Law, to enable them to alienate their Estates, which they were restrained from before.

It is from that salutary Law, that we may date the first Dawning of Liberty to the Commons of *England*, for as the Peers alienated their Lands, their Power declined in proportion, Power and Wealth going always hand in hand.

But thanks to Heaven, the Privileges and Power of the Peerage are now so well poised, and render'd so conformable to the Constitution, and the Rights of the Commons, that they have no reason to have any Apprehensions of either, tho' it is very certain, that few are willing to make any Purchases near a Peer's Estate, and the Inconveniency of suing a Peer at Law is too well known.

It is not the Privileges or Power of the Peerage, that are now to be dreaded, it is the Power vested in the Crown of creating Peers at Pleasure.

It is true, we are under no Apprehensions of an Abuse of that Power under so just and wise an Administration as the present, but we must not expect to be always blessed

with good and gracious Princes ; and it is the highest Act of Prudence in a State, to be armed against all Events.

There cannot be a more powerful Argument for a Law to limit the Peerage, than the inimitable Conduct of his late Majesty, who was, perhaps, the first of our Monarchs, that made a Royal Tender of restraining the Prerogative with regard to the Power of creating Peers, but he wisely consider'd the Abuse of that Power in the Hands of a weak or misled Prince, and as the Message sent to the House of Peers on that Occasion, contains the most pregnant Arguments for a Law to limit the Peerage, we have thought proper to exhibit a Transcript of it for the Reader's Satisfaction.

‘ His Majesty being inform’d, that the
 ‘ House of Peers have under Consideration,
 ‘ the State of the Peerage of *Great Britain*,
 ‘ is graciously pleased to acquaint this House,
 ‘ that he has so much at heart the settling
 ‘ the Peerage of the whole Kingdom, upon
 ‘ such a Foundation, as may secure the Free-
 ‘ dom and Constitution of Parliament, in
 ‘ all future Ages, that he is willing, his
 ‘ Prerogative shall not stand in the Way of
 ‘ so great and necessary a Work.

The Fate of the Peerage Bill is fresh in every one's Memory, and it had been happy for the Nation, had there been a Law of the same tendency in Force, when the Treaty
 of

of *Utrecht* was under the Consideration of the Peers; for as they had but too much Reason, to dread the Consequences of it, so they judged the most effectual Expedient to prevent them, would be to confine the Projector, but he had no other Defence against the Blow, than by persuading his Sovereign to make a most shameful Use of her Prerogative.

It is from that fatal Juncture, we may justly derive the present calamitous and melancholy State of those Powers that were then engaged in a successful Confederacy against the House of *Bourbon*.

It is from that fatal Blow, we must deduce the exorbitant Power to which it is since arrived, and is now in a fair Way of destroying the remaining Liberties of *Europe*.

Nothing can be a more convincing Proof of the Necessity of a Law to limit the Peerage than the Remembrance of that pernicious Affair; since Men will always have the same Passions, and wicked or weak Ministers will never hesitate to prostitute the Honour of their Sovereign, either to carry on unwarrantable Schemes, or to shelter themselves from Justice.

Having now taken a summary View of all, or most of the Arts of State, that fall to the Lot of Governors, or more explicitly,

the Executive Power, we will now proceed to the Governed, or the People.

Of the PEOPLE.

OF all our Monarchs, *Q. Elizabeth* was most delighted with cultivating the Affection of the People, and on the other Hand, no Prince ever triumphed more in their Hearts, which may be look'd upon as an irrefragable Testimony as well of their good Sense, as their Gratitude, since it is allow'd that she excell'd all her Predecessors in Wisdom and Merit.

It is a very common Saying with Persons of angry or cholerick Complexions, *that there's no pleasing the People*, but the Reign of that Princess will convince the World, that nothing is more groundless than such an Insinuation.

How many Instances have we in the Histories of Foreign Nations, of the exorbitant Affection of the People to their Governors: and I believe it will be no Paradox to say, that there's no Prince that pursues the same Plan or Measures with that renowned Queen, but will have like Returns. That the same Cause will always produce the same Effects is an Axiom in Philosophy, and whoever takes an impartial View of her Care to please her People, will not think it a Task so unmountable as some have represented it.

So

So frugal was she of the Purfes of her Subjects, that she never call'd for any Aids, but in Cafes of the highest Importance, contenting herself with a Revenue, that did not amount to much more than a hundred and fifty thousand Pounds a Year.

She would never allow any of her Ministers or Servants to acquire Riches.

She had so singular a Regard for Justice, that she often condescended to enter into a strict Examination of the most minute Wrongs.

She never conferr'd any Honours or Employments upon any, but such as were Men of known Merit and Probity.

Nor would she give any Ear to Rumour or Suspensions of her People, and it was a common Saying with her, *that she could believe nothing of them, which Parents would not believe of their Children.*

She was no less conspicuous for Hospitality, her Court being always open for Strangers, the Peasant as well as Persons of Rank were entertain'd at her Tables, in Affluence and Plenty.

But nothing can give a more just Idea of the Virtues of that excellent Princess, than the Memoirs of her Reign, which were published in the last Century, out of which I have taken the following Extract, which I am persuaded, will be no less instructive, than entertaining.

‘ She

' She kept Parliaments thro' the Course
 ' of her Reign, in such a Temper, as that
 ' no Signs appeared, either of Anarchy, or
 ' Oppression, her Government having been
 ' handed to the People, with that Sweet-
 ' ness, that it was esteem'd of no less Ad-
 ' vantage to them, than their Obedience
 ' brought Honour to her, under whom the
 ' Crown remained in such Credit, as that
 ' the Exchequer was esteem'd equal Security
 ' with the Exchange.

' Her Lands were loaden with Timber
 ' for all Employments, either to build a
 ' Fleet with, or to raise Mony to pay Sol-
 ' diers or Mariners.

' Nor was her Treasury burthen'd with
 ' any considerable Debts, but such as a Par-
 ' liament would refund without Murmuring,
 ' no Cause of Jealousy remaining, in rela-
 ' tion to any Encroachment upon their Li-
 ' berty or Estates.

' Her Parks, Forests, and Chaces, were
 ' rather a Relief, than a Burthen to her Sub-
 ' jects; it being then as rare to find a Man
 ' of Quality denied Venison, as to hear of
 ' one punished for stealing it.

' The Church, in her Days, lay not dis-
 ' figured in the Filth of Prophaness, nor was
 ' it dawb'd by the Varnish of Hypocrisy.

I will conclude this Topick with observing,
 that every Prince who treads in the same
 Paths

Paths with that incomparable Queen will be equally loved and esteem'd.

Of the REPRESENTATIVES *of*
the PEOPLE.

THERE are no popular Assemblies in *Europe*, but in *Great Britain*, *Ireland*, *Poland*, *Sweden*, and *Switzerland*, *Time* and *Tyranny* having extinguished them in all other *European* Dominions.

We often, indeed, hear of the Meeting of the States, in some of the *French* Provinces, but 'tis to no other End, than to give Money, having no negative Voice, nor even the Liberty of remonstrating; as for the Parliaments in *France*, they are no more than superior Courts of Justice.

The Representatives of the People ought to be elected for their Probity, Years, and Experience, which is sufficient to lay, upon a Subject that so frequently engages our most celebrated Authors.

Of LIBERTY.

THERE is scarcely one Political Writer, that has not given a different Idea or Definition of Liberty, but they agree in this, that of all our Possessions, it is the most valuable.

The

The People of every Country, even where the Government is Despotic, flatter themselves, they enjoy more Freedom and Privileges than their Neighbours.

But if things are examined with Attention, it will appear that true Liberty is not to be found in any Government.

Perhaps, *Great Britain* has as solid Reasons to boast of Liberty, as any Country in *Europe*, but yet it must be acknowledged that some Laws carry a violent Appearance of Severity, particularly those for pressing the Subject against his Will to run the Risque of his Life in War, a practice unknown even amongst the Pagans, and would be look'd upon as the most consummate Tyranny, in some despotic Monarchies, particularly in *France*.

The Laws that authorize a State Messenger to destroy a Press, by which the Owner subsists a numerous Family, may be said to be of the same Cast.

'Tis the Right of the Subject to petition the Crown, but except some Person of Weight will undertake to support the Request, the Petitioner must be blessed with a large Fund of Patience, before he knows the Result.

When a poor Man's Petition is deliver'd to the King, he gives it to the Lord in waiting, and he again, to the Clerk of the Council, who takes care to file it, and there's

there's no Doubt but it will be read in it's turn, which perhaps may be a Year after.

We have a memorable Saying of a *Macedonian* Woman to *Philip*, Father of *Alexander the Great*, upon his neglecting to read her Petition; *if you will not do Justice*, says she, *to what End are you King?*

It may, perhaps, be objected, that expediting the Affairs of Persons in the low Class of Life would pave the Way for a Multitude of Suiters, which might interrupt Affairs of Importance.

But it cannot be well conceived, that People, who are not delirious would consume their Time in attending of Courts, upon Affairs not well founded.

Of the LEGISLATURE.

THE Conditions required in the Constitution of all Laws, are, that they be just, equal, fitted to the Genius and Temper of the People, and conducive to the publick Good.

A Multitude of Laws, says one of the Antients, are as strong Symptoms of a languishing State, as a Multitude of Distempers, are of a crazy Constitution.

Laws have been so multiplied in *England*, since the Revolution; that should the same Vein continue for any Number of Years,

the Time will come, when a Man may look upon himself to be no small Proficient, if he can remember the very Titles, for we have three times more Laws within that Period, than in all the preceeding Ages since Christianity.

Tho' Laws should be passed with the greatest Deliberation and Solemnity, yet it has frequently happen'd, that some were scarcely intelligible, and others often defective, even in Grammar, which made it necessary to explain them by other subsequent Laws.

It is a melancholy Truth, that the Laws, which were intended for the People's Safeguard against Wrongs and Oppression, are become their heaviest Grievance, from their Number, and the Expences which few are able to support without large Incomes.

The Legislature has often made their greatest Efforts to relieve the People from the Burthen of the Law, but all Expedients have hitherto proved abortive, nor is there any Prospect of Success upon any other Plan than that of the Emperor *Justinian*, by confining it to a certain Number of Volumes, by which he relieved his People from the greatest Oppression; and acquired as much Glory as by all his Conquests.

Several Princes have imitated that renowned Emperor, and particularly the late Kings of *France* and *Denmark*, but the latter

latter comprized all the Laws of his Country in one Code.

It may perhaps be objected, that a Design of that Kind will be found impracticable, in a Country of great Commerce or Traffick.

But the Practice in *Holland* will be a sufficient Evidence in this Case, for tho' the Trade of that Country is much more considerable in Proportion to it's Extent of Ground, than the Trade of *England*, yet 'tis certain that all their Laws are confined to a few Volumes.

The reducing of all the Laws made upon the same Head into one Act, would be of infinite Advantage to the Subject, who in that Case, might comprehend it's whole Scope, without the Aid of an Interpreter, but he cannot hope for the same Success, when there are five or six Acts upon the same Subject; there, I say, the Task will be insuperable.

The greatest Caution ought to be had in altering a fundamental Law, it has been liken'd to the removing of the corner Stone of a Building, which must inevitably endanger the whole, and it was observed of the *Lacedemonians*, that they were in a decaying State, for many Years, after they had alter'd Part of their Constitution, (to gratify some of their Men in Power,) which

compell'd them, to restore Things to their former Condition.

Of SEDITION.

THE Causes of Sedition are reduced to six Heads, and first, Avarice, which consists in publick or private plundering, the Publick is when the Tallies, Aids, Confiscations, Subsidies, Taxes and Revenues of a Kingdom or State are misapplied or embezzled. This Offence amongst the *Romans* was call'd *Peculatus*.

The private is, when the Magistrates and the Rich oppress the Poor with unjust Ex-tortions.

Honour is sometimes the Cause of Sedition. It is just that in the Distribution of Honours, Regard should be had to the Quality and Merit of Persons, but when that is neglected, and obscure Creatures promoted to great Dignities and Employments, it must create Resentment and ill Blood amongst the Brave and the Virtuous, who see themselves neglected for no other Offence, than their Opposition to base and unwarrantable Measures.

Exorbitant Authority, Riches and Alliances amongst any Set of Men, are very dangerous to a State, having been often the Source of Seditions and civil Wars.

Seditions have often owed their Rise to Fear, either of being punished for some past Crimes, or of some Evils to come, to prevent which People have often had Recourse to Arms.

Contempt, in all Governments, distracted by Parties, will inevitably cause Sedition, especially, when the Party excluded from the Administration, have the People on their Side, which must consequently, inspire them with Confidence and Resolution.

Too much Encouragement given to Foreigners, has often proved fatal to Governors, of which we have a Multitude of Instances in the Histories of every Nation: But the Act of Succession has deliver'd us from any future Apprehensions of that Kind, since it is there declared, *that no Foreigner shall be capable of any Place of Profit or Trust.*

Heavy Taxes and Exactions have produced Seditions and Insurrections too, in most Countries of the World, the same Cause divided the Kingdom of the *Jews* under *Rheboam*, and was the Source of the dangerous Insurrection under *Tyler* in the Reign of *Richard II.* and of the Revolt of the Seven Provinces from the *Spaniards*: And indeed, nothing less can be expected in any State, when the Impositions exceed the People's Income.

Various are the Remedies proposed by Political Authors, against Sedition. Some have

have declared for Violence and the Sword, but the Advice of * *Tacitus*, seems to be more solid, or at least, more conformable, to the Tenor of the Christian Religion, that is, *to treat, and to promise Redress*, for what Conquest will it be for a Prince to massacre his own Subjects, and what a crying Sin must it be, when their Complaints are founded upon Truth.

The Persons employed to treat with the Mutinous, should be Men of known Virtue, and in high Esteem with the People; but of all Expedients, Redress of Grievances is the best.

Of PLOTS.

THO' it must be allow'd, that no State was ever exempted from Plots and Conspiracies, yet 'tis no less certain, that Ministers have often encouraged such Contrivances to carry on sinistrous Designs, either to raise an Army, or to divert their Masters from Projects, that were not favourable to them, or to save themselves from some Dangers that hang over their Heads.

There is nothing more practicable for a Minister of any Address or Management, (especially in a Country, divided into Parties,) than to set up a Plot; all he has to

do, is to gain one or more of the Leaders of the discontented Party, who are to insinuate that the Minister will favour any Scheme they shall project; this puts all into Motion.

We have several Instances of these ministerial Plots in our own Country, and, indeed, some have been of Opinion, that the Gunpowder Plot in the Reign of *James I.* was of the same Alloy, and the awkward Manner in which the Letter sent to Lord *Mount Eagle*, the Night before the Execution, seems to confirm it, but much more, the Papers of the then Minister, the Lord *Burleigh*, which have but lately appeared, by which the whole Affair is brought to Light, for it is evident by those Papers, that the Minister was acquainted with the Conspirators Journal, from the Beginning, so that he might have easily stifled the Design in it's Infancy, but that would not quadrate with his principal Design, which was to divert *K. James*, from making any Approaches towards Popery, to which he seem'd to be inclinable in the Minister's Opinion, by engaging some Papists in a desperate and horrid Plot, to destroy both King and Parliament.

This was the Original of that Affair that has fill'd the Kingdom with Astonishment for above a whole Century.

'Tis to after Ages that we are indebted for the unravelling Mysteries of State, Plots especially, which make such a deep Impression

sion upon the Minds of the People, that 'tis impossible to undeceive them in the Period of Time, in which they are discover'd.

Such Contrivances have been put in Practice, in all Reigns, but that of *Charles II.* was the most fertile. Then there was one for every Party, but I believe, it will be granted, that the Popish Plot kept the then Treasurer's Head upon his Shoulders.

The *Lancashire* Plot in the Reign of King *William*, does not seem to have been well digested, some of the Witnesses being so ill instructed, as not to know the Prisoners accused, when they were called upon to give their Evidence.

The *Scot's* Plot in the Beginning of Queen *Ann's* Reign, was so monstrous a Production: the Villain that hatched it, has the Fortune to be still living; The whole Scope of that hellish Contrivance was no more than to destroy two Noblemen of *North Britain*, in order to gratify the Spleen or Malice of the late Duke of *Qu—berry*.

The *Ban Box* Plot, in the same Reign, was so superficial, that it may more properly, be call'd a Piece of *Legeredemaine*, but it answer'd the End propos'd.

The late Reign brought forth a Pair of Plots, the *Swedish* and *Layer's*; this last was a very extraordinary one, indeed, since three Kingdoms were to be subverted without
either

either Men or Arms: however, it gave occasion for an additional Land-Force.

'Tis almost impossible that Plots can succeed, in a Country, where the People are addicted to Drinking, which generally unveils all Secrets.

'Tis otherwise in the Southern Climates where the People are more abstemious and temperate, of which we have a signal Example in *Portugal*, when that Kingdom shook off the *Spanish* Yoke, for tho' the Design was some Months in Agitation, yet it was carried on with such Secrecy, that it was first discover'd by a Massacre of the *Spanish* Ministers and Governors, and seizing all the Fortresses in the Kingdom.

But nothing can be more judicious than the Saying of the Lord *Shaftsbury* to one of his Friends, upon his flying to *Holland*, at the Time of the *Rye House* Plot. *Well*, says that noble Lord, *I must leave you, for I see, many can't keep a Secret, and a few can't do the Work.*

Of REBELLION.

Since Seditious and Plots are generally, the Harbingers of Rebellion, we think this is the proper Place for treating of it.

It would be an endless Task to enter upon a Relation of all the Insurrections and Rebellions in this Kingdom since the Conquest ;

it may suffice to say, that few Reigns passed without some popular Commotions.

There was a dangerous Rising in the last Reign, which in the Opinion of many, might have been easily * prevented, but that would not correspond with the Views of some who were gaping for Forfeitures, like the Lord's Justices of *Ireland*, in the unhappy Year 1641, who discountenanced all Attempts for stifling the *Irish* Rebellion in it's Infancy.

There was a Question very much agitated amongst the Lawyers and Civilians in the Year 1715. And that was, whether the Generals treating with the Prisoners taken at *Preston*, and their surrendering at Discretion, ought not to have been so favourably interpreted as to exempt them from future Punishments, but it was determined against those unhappy People, many of them having suffer'd Death; which some look'd upon as a very impolitick Step, since it cannot be well imagined that Men with Swords in their Hands will give them up, without Security for their Lives, at least, and we have Instances of Princes entering into Treaty with their Subjects, and granting them both their Lives and Estates.

* *Vide Kers Memoirs.*

Of

Of PARTIES.

THERE'S great Reason to think that Parties are coeval with Government itself, for I believe it will be impossible to point out any Form of Government, without some Opposition to the Administration.

I am well apprized that some Political Writers are of Opinion, that Parties are of Use in a State, by rendering a Ministry more vigilant and circumspect in the Management of publick Affairs.

Of what Advantage Parties may have been in other Countries, I will not take upon me to determine, but I may safely affirm, that 'tis from them, we may derive all, or most of the Calamities of our own.

All Parties have ever the same Cry, in their Mouths, the *Publick Good*, that is, the Shield that defends them against all Attacks.

'Tis there the Poyson lies concealed, 'tis under the Umbrage of promoting the Good of the Publick, that the People have often been bewitched by designing Men into the most dangerous Enterprizes.

That there are some candid and good meaning People in all Parties, is a Truth that will not be called in Question; but 'tis uncommon to see the Leaders have any other Views than to rise to Dignities and Riches, at the Expence of the Dupes, that

follow them, or sometimes, to procure large Pensions from the very Ministry they seem to oppose, of which it would not be difficult to give some recent Instances.

There is an Error very common too all Parties, which has often proved fatal in the End, that is, in receiving Deserters or Proselytes into any Degree of Friendship, or Confidence, which is not conformable to the *Hebrew Proverb: Believe not a Proselyte till the fourth Generation.*

The Force and Influence of Education can scarcely, be effaced out of the Minds of Men, a Secret little understood by the Tories in K. William's Reign, otherwise they would never have condescended to be under the Management of some Leaders, that had sucked in Principles diametrically opposite to those they seem'd to profess; as the *H----* and *H-----s*, the *H-----s*, the *St. J-----s*, and Others: and I believe it will be granted that the after Conduct of those Gentlemen will confirm what I have lay'd down, since every one of them is charged either with deserting or betraying the Tory Cause.

Naturam expellas furcâ, licet usque recurrat.

There is another Practice amongst Parties, that has the Air of the most abject Slavery; and is no less injurious to Justice than it is to Truth: A Blind and unreasonable Attachment

tachment to a Party, by which a Man is to vote with them, tho' it may be inconsistent with his Sentiments.

We have a memorable Example of this in the House of Peers, when the occasional Bill was before them in the Year 1702. For the then Lord Treasurer made a long Discourse against the Unseasonableness of the Bill, yet to gratify his Party, he thought himself obliged in Honour to Vote for it.

There are many other Instances of the same Kind, and I am persuaded, all Antiquity cannot produce any such Doctrine: A Man should never surrender his Judgment to humour others, whatever the Consequences might be: And it is a received Maxim as well in Morals, as in Religion; that there must be an exact Conformity between a Man's Words and his Actions.

This is one of the sad Effects of Party Spirit, or more properly, Party Slavery, which enjoins a Man rather to part with his Understanding, and perhaps his Integrity too, than to vary from his imaginary Friends; And all that seems necessary to be observed in General, of Parties, is, *that the Leaders are Knaves, and their Followers Fools.*

Of CORRUPTION.

THIS, in a State, may be compared to a slow Poison that consumes insensibly;

sibly ; 'tis of all Evils the most pernicious to Government, others are, generally periodical, but when once Corruption seizes a Nation, it always terminates with it's Subversion.

It is divided into Foreign and Domestick, indeed, some Means may be contriv'd by a Government to prevent the former, but human Wisdom cannot invent any Remedies against the latter, especially, when it is countenanced by an Administration.

How many Laws have passed since the Revolution against corrupt Elections, but with what Benefit? The Wretches that sell their Voices for a few Guineas, consult only some present Conveniency, without reflecting that the Man who parts with his Mony, thinks it highly prudent to pass any Law for squeezing ten times more out of their Purses, in order to bring himself home with Advantage.

Some think it justifiable enough, to imitate the *Dutch Mastiff*, that took a Share of the Shoulder of Mutton, that he could not guard, against the Attacks of other Mastiffs. There can be no Antidote so powerful against this Species of Contagion, as the Example of Men in Power, till they begin to reform in Practice, the most severe Laws will have no more Weight than Cobwebs.

Of TAXES.

THERE is no Law so ill received by the People, as that which affects their Property, and it may be affirmed, that nothing has subverted more Governments than heavy and unequal Impositions.

Three Ingredients are absolutely necessary to render a Tax equitable; Authority, Necessity, and Proportion.

No Nation in the World submits to Impositions, with more Chearfulness than the *British*: The People were, it seems, in the same Disposition in the Time of the * *Roman Historian*, and it still prevails, for tho' the Revolution has cost us above two hundred Millions of Mony, yet has there never been, one Insurrection or Mutiny on the Score of Taxes, in any Part of the Kingdom; tho' it must be granted that there's no Country, where Equality, or the different Conditions of People are less observed in the Affair of Taxes, most of which fall to the Lot of the Poor, and as to the Land Tax in particular, 'tis but too well known, that while some Counties are taxed only at two Shillings in the Pound, others pay four.

* Tributa & injuncta Imperii munera impigrè solvunt,
Tacit.

Amongst

Amongst other Evils that result from a Multitude of heavy Impositions, Smugling, is none of the least, since it tends to the Ruin of the fair Dealers, and what is no less pernicious, it gives a Pretext for keeping a Standing Army afoot ; for it seems, the Smuglers are so formidable, as to be out of the Reach of the Civil Power ; nor is it possible to put an End to this destructive Practice till the Duties upon Importations are reduced or moderated, of which, we have not, even a distant Prospect ; for tho' we enjoyed a continued Tranquillity for above seven and twenty Years, and that our Commerce has encreased one third, since the Treaty of *Utrecht* ; yet the Impositions on Trade continue in the same State: Nay, which is very extraordinary, the People have been loaded with new Taxes, particularly, the Duty on Wrought Plate, and the Pot-act Duty, so grievous to the Inhabitants of the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, tho' they contributed so chearfully with their Purfes, to the Support of the two last Wars, and were ready, on all Emergencies, to supply the Wants of the Government.

A strange Error prevails amongst many good meaning People, that no Nation, is more happy on the Score of Taxes, but I believe it will be easy to demonstrate, that on the contrary, no Nation in the World labours under more unequal and heavier, and I might even

even take the Freedom to say, that we have, a general Excise, for what else is the Tax upon Land, since it must naturally enhance the Price of every Thing that is consumed in the Kingdom.

There are but few Goods imported, that are not charged with double or treble Duties, which on some Specie's exceed the Price of the same Commodity in other Countries, particularly, Tea, the Cost of the best in *France* and *Holland* is seldom above four Shillings a Pound, and in *England*, the Duty amounts to as much, so that this Notion of our singular Felicity above our Neighbours, on Account of easy Taxes and Impositions, is a mere Illusion, calculated by designing Men, to amuse the People, while they are busy in picking their Pockets.

I cannot conclude this Article with any thing that is more conformable to our Subject, than the last Advice of a *French* Monarch to his Son. *Serve God*, says that good Prince, *in the first Place*, be liberal to the *Indigent*, *preserve the Laws and Customs of your Kingdom*; *refrain from Taxing your People*, *except in Cases of extream Necessity*, *and when the publick Good is at Stake.*

Of Standing ARMIES.

THIS Term was unknown in *England*, till the Rebellion of 1641; the then usurped Powers having just Reason to suspect the People's Fidelity, had Recourse to Armies for their Security; and *Charles II.* finding a Military Force established, upon his Restoration, thought it necessary to continue it on Foot.

As the Freedom of all Nations in the World, has been ravished from them by Standing Armies, in different Periods of Time; we are not to be surprized at the Struggles made in this Kingdom for many Years, against establishing any greater Force in time of Peace, than what might be necessary for Guards and Garrisons, upon the same Plans that were thought reasonable in the Reigns of *K. William* and *Q. Anne*.

As this Affair of a Standing Army in time of Peace concerns the Liberty of every Subject of *Great Britain*; we propose to treat of it at large, and to offer some Objections against that dangerous Expedient, which have not been touched by others.

By the established Maxims of this Kingdom, a numerous Standing Army ought never to be kept up, but when we are engaged in a Foreign War.

The

The Nation may sometimes be in Danger from a foreign Enemy, or a powerful and seditious Faction at Home, and sometimes we may be so unhappy, as to be exposed to both those Dangers at once, when either of these happens to be the Case, a Body of regular Forces may be kept up, in proportion to the Power of that Foreign Enemy, or Domestick Faction.

But an Army is not to be raised upon Apprehensions founded upon News-papers, or the private Informations that may be whisper'd by one Gentleman of Rank in the Administration, to Another.

In all our former Quarrels, whether Foreign or Domestick, before that fatal Period of 1641, the Armies were disbanded as soon as the Occasions ceased, and that even in the Reign of *Henry VII.* tho' he was a very suspicious Prince, and constantly alarm'd with Pretenders during the whole Course of his Reign.

Queen *Elizabeth* pursued the same Steps, for tho' her Title was not exempted from Disputes, and that she was always exposed to the Attempts and Resentment of the *Spanish* King, who was then the most powerful Prince in the World, and always kept formidable Armies on Foot, as well in *Flanders*, as in *Spain*, yet she was so careful of her People, that she would never consent to tax

them, to keep up a Standing Army, under specious Pretences.

Hence we may conclude, that our Princes in former Ages, chose rather to run the Risque of losing their Crowns, than to keep a Military Force in Pay, in a time of Peace, either by Authority of Parliament, or their own, and 'tis certain, that an Army is much more dangerous in a Monarchical State, than in a Common-Wealth, where many must be consulted before Orders can be dispatched to Commanders, which probably will give vent to a pernicious Design, but in Governments, where, the Executive Power is vested in the Prince, he has no one to consult but his Secretary, and 'tis well known that no Attempts were ever made upon the Liberties of *Holland*, but under the Administration of a Stadholder, who enjoyed most of the Prerogatives of Sovereign Princes.

In the Reign of K. *William*, the Establishment after the Peace of *Ryswick*, was confined to Six Thousand, tho' K. *James* was then residing in *France*, and great Numbers of Men of Quality and Rank in this Kingdom, known to be in his Interest, many of whom had been indebted to him, as well for their Titles and Dignities, as for their Riches.

The Establishment was continued upon the same Foot in the Reign of Q. *Anne*.

The

The Number of Forces for many Years, before the present War with *Spain* amounted to eighteen Thousand, tho' we had not the least Symptoms of any Commotions nor Quarrels Abroad, to which I must add, the Garrisons of *Gibraltar* and *Portmahon*, *Placentia* and *Annapolis* in *America*.

Necessity was the Plea for our first Standing Forces, upon the Restoration, and that Necessity was to continue no longer than a Year. But the Friends of Liberty and the Constitution, then prophesied, that the Necessity then pretended, would be the same for ever, and that a Standing Army, if once introduced, would become perpetual. Experience has since shewn us, the Certainty of those Fears; a Body of Guards was the first Military Force kept up by Authority of Parliament. The Advocates for the People's Freedom look'd upon that Body as the Seeds of a Standing Army, and foresaw, that like all pernicious Weeds, they would multiply, so as to subvert the Constitution.

A Courtier, might, no doubt, then cry out, that it was impossible a Corps of Guards, not exceeding eight Hundred, should encrease to an Army of eighteen Thousand, yet we see it has come to pass, and upon every Occasion, Necessity was the Argument for augmenting, as it was at first for establishing, this Military Force. A few more Troops were always urged to be necessary,
upon

upon a Pretence that a few additional Troops could not subject us to any Danger, but these Few, from time to time under one Pretence or another, have brought us, at last, to a formidable Number.

An Army may be liken'd to a Medicine which ought never to be taken, but when there is a real and not an imaginary Necessity, and then it may prove a good Remedy, Regard being had to just Quantity, but by adding Drops one after another, it may become Poison.

To keep up a numerous Army to guard against Dangers which are only possible, is the Way to expose ourselves to Dangers that are really probable.

Slavery and arbitrary Power are the certain Consequences of keeping a Standing Army, if it be continued for many Years. It is the Machine by which the Chains of Slavery are fixt upon a free People, and wants only a skilful Hand to set it a going.

It is no Objection to say, we have kept an Army for many Years without any Danger to the Constitution.

But it is not to be imagined, that those, who meditate the Subversion of Liberty are such aukward Politicians, as not to know, that many Designs which would be impracticable in the Beginning, become very easy in Progress of Time. The People must be accustomed

custom'd to the Burthen for some Years, and then it will become familiar to them.

The great Argument for a Standing Army is the Pretender, and the same Argument will continue for ever, there will be always Pretenders while there are any Princes descended from *James I.* that are nearer the Crown, by proximity of Blood, than the Illustrious Family upon the Throne.

As for Plots or Conspiracies, we have not heard of any Steps for near twenty Years, that have betrayed any Inclination in the Kingdom to Disaffection; and I am persuaded, whoever reflects upon the Chearfulness of all Ranks of People to take the Oaths in the Year 1723, must be convinced that there is no Room for any Suggestion of that Kind.

A numerous Standing Army may indeed, prevent Conspiracies amongst a cowardly, disarm'd People, but they are much more to be dreaded in the Army itself, since in all Countries, where Armies have been kept on Foot, for a long Series of Years, we find Plots and Conspiracies more frequent and fatal, than in Countries where there are no Standing Forces.

Of this, we have a recent Example in what is call'd *Layen's Plot*, for by the Papers published by Authority upon that Affair, it is manifest that the whole Dependence of the Conspirators was upon the Army only.

It

It is, indeed pretended, that our Liberties can be in no Danger from our Army, while it is commanded by Gentlemen of the best Families in the Kingdom; but this is a strange Way of reasoning, for our Liberties ought to depend upon our Constitution, and not upon the Honour of the Gentlemen of our Army.

There's no Doubt, but there was a great Number of Gentlemen of the first Families in *Rome*, in *Cæsar's* Army, when he passed the *Rubicon* to subvert the Liberties of his Country, but by the most authentic Accounts we have of that memorable Transaction, there was not one Person in the whole Army, that made any Opposition, on the contrary, when the Attempt was proposed, it being received with the greatest Unanimity, and the loudest Acclamations.

And there is little Reason to doubt, but Gentlemen of Families as well as Others, will in all Nations, be influenced by Fear, or Ambition, to concur in subverting the Constitution of their Country.

That a Standing Army would be destructive to our Liberties has been always the constant Maxim amongst those, who were most distinguished amongst us, either for Wisdom, or a profound Knowledge in the Laws, and Constitution of *England*.

But it is very remarkable that our Enemies should be of the same Opinion, of which we have sufficient Evidence from a
System

System of Politicks, that was presented to the late *French* King, towards the Middle of the last Century.

The King was so well pleased with the Performance, the Scope of which was to make him universal Monarch, that he gave the Author ten thousand Lewis d'Ors, besides a large Pension, enjoining him, at the same time, under the severest Penalties, not to publish it.

But his Vanity prevailed over all other Considerations, and upon the King's being informed, that the Work had appeared in Print, the Author was confined in a Dungeon, where he ended his Days: A just Reward for him that would contribute towards enslaving the Christian World.

After he had traced out a Plan for reducing *Spain, Portugal, Italy, and the Switzers*, he proceeds to *England*; of which he gives us this frightful Draught.

' As to the *English*, they have no Allies,
' they are a People without Faith, without
' Religion, without Probity, without any
' regard to Justice, Mistrustful, Giddy, Cruel,
' Impatient, Gluttons, Haughty, Covetous,
' cut out for fighting and executing any
' sudden Enterprizes, but incapable of conducting a War with Judgment.

' They hate one another, and are at perpetual Variance, either on the Score of
' Religion or Government, a *French* War
I ' would

‘ would entirely destroy them in three or
 ‘ four Years, so I think we should not make
 ‘ Peace with them but upon Conditions that
 ‘ will be very favourable to us, except the
 ‘ King thinks proper to put off the Execu-
 ‘ tion of the Design to some other time.

‘ In a Word, *if we propose to ruin the*
 ‘ *English, we have nothing more to do than*
 ‘ *to oblige them to keep up a Standing Army,*
 ‘ for then they’ll have a Civil War, and ruin
 ‘ themselves.

‘ We must put them under a Necessity of
 ‘ being at great Expences, and make them
 ‘ believe that we have an Eye upon *Jersey*
 ‘ and *Guernsey*, the *Cinque Ports*, and *Ire-*
 ‘ *land*, which will persuade them that our
 ‘ King is forming great Projects against their
 ‘ pretended Liberty.

‘ *Whilst the King of England has a Stand-*
 ‘ *ding Army, his Subjects will hate him, and*
 ‘ in order to foment Jealousies and Suspi-
 ‘ cions amongst them, Letters must be
 ‘ wrote in Cypher, to certain private Persons,
 ‘ but Care must be taken to have them
 ‘ fall into the Hands of the Government,
 ‘ and as the Nation is suspicious and foolish,
 ‘ they will not imagine those Letters to be
 ‘ fictitious, on the contrary, they will con-
 ‘ clude they are sent upon great and serious
 ‘ Affairs.

‘ Some-

* Something like a Descent must be at-
 * tempted in *Ireland*, and other Places.
 * Parties must be raised in *Scotland*, and Re-
 * ligious Sects must be played off against
 * one another, especially the *Catholicks*.
 * And the *Dutch* must be amused, whilst
 * every thing is in Confusion in *England*,
 * with the hopes of succeeding the *English*
 * in Commerce, in which they are Rivals
 * with the *Hollanders*.

It could scarcely be conceived that such
 an infernal Scheme should be invented by
 any one that had any Sentiments, either of
 Humanity or Religion, but it is agreeable to
 the Politicks and Practices of *France* for
 above five Hundred Years past. However,
 as there is no Evil, but some Good may be
 drawn from it, so this, I hope, will have
 this happy Effect, to undeceive all the Sub-
 jects of *Great Britain*; and prevent them
 from giving any Credit to *French* Intrigues
 or Politicks.

This Discovery from an Enemy ought
 likewise to teach Ministers not to be over-
 credulous, upon intercepting suspicious Let-
 ters or Packets, of which we have an Ex-
 ample in the Affair of the wicked Contri-
 vance called the *Scots Plot*, in *Q. Ann's*
 Reign, where the profligate Villain that in-
 vented it, managed things with such Ad-
 dress, that every Dispatch that he sent to
England, should be intercepted.

But what is still more extraordinary, is, that the *French* Politician, tho' a Catholick, has taken particular Pains to involve the Subjects of *Great Britain* of that Religion, in the most dangerous Attempts in order to Favour the Designs of *France*: So true it is, that neither Humanity nor Religion are any Barrier against Ambition.

On the Whole, if no other Arguments could be urged against a Standing Army in Time of Peace, what the *French* Author has pointed at; will be sufficient, that is, *that whoever would ruin the English, has nothing more to do, but to oblige them to keep an Army as yet, for, says he, while the King is in Arms, the People will hate him.*

F I N I S.



